

The issue for last Sunday, August 2, 1959, contains a signed article entitled "Let's Stop Filth Through the Mails," written by the Postmaster General.

The postmasters in the 177 cities where this magazine is distributed have been instructed to mount copies of this article on their lobby bulletin boards.

Because the article is worth while and has great appeal to families throughout the country, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LET'S STOP FILTH THROUGH THE MAILS

(By Arthur E. Summerfield, Postmaster General of the United States)

The Post Office Department has declared war on the mailing of obscenity into American homes.

I call upon all citizens—especially the parents of our 20 million teenage youngsters—to enlist in this crusade to rid the nation's mails of lewd material soliciting the purchase of vile pictures, slides, films, and related filth.

I wish we could show every American parent these materials, or conduct him through the exhibit we have arranged for Members of Congress, law-enforcement officers, and civic leaders. One special alcove of the exhibit hall is reserved for the worst of it. Here, behind thick curtains, we hold confiscated books, paintings, photographs, and statues representing every depraved human appetite. It has to be seen to be believed.

Unless we stop the filth merchants, close to 1 million children in America will find such material in their family mailboxes this year, carried by the United States postman.

Just how serious is this problem to you and me? To our children? To our communities and our country?

My own feeling is expressed in a statement I made recently before a subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee investigating the mailing of obscene and pornographic material:

"It is my deep conviction that one of the most serious moral and social problems in the United States today is the multimillion-dollar mail-order traffic in obscenity."

We can estimate at present that the sale of such material through the mails is running at more than \$500 million a year.

The especially disturbing aspect of this racket is the fact that these purveyors of filth are aiming their attention more and more at children. This is how they work:

First, they get a line of merchandise consisting of filthy cartoons, art studies, comic books, color slides, and perhaps movies in color.

Then they write come-on literature, describing their offerings in the most provocative phrases they can invent to excite the senses of curious teenagers.

Then they reach out for customers through the U.S. mails. They place dummy ads in inexpensive teenage and preteen publications, offering such items as baseball bats for boys and doll-dress outfits for girls. These attractive and harmless items are offered below legitimate prices and, as a result, thousands of children send in their pennies with their names and addresses. The latter is what the muck merchants seek, a list of adolescent and preadolescent boys and girls with access to money.

Another list for their pandering comes from high school annuals. Each season, these are collected and their thousands of names and addresses used by filth peddlers. Their shameful solicitations are written with special emphasis on teasing and tempting the growing, curious mind.

One raid on a filth firm in New York turned up 17 tons of obscenity ready to be mailed and a list of 100,000 names of prospects, including those of many high school students.

With their first mailing, in a plain, sealed envelope, they are in business. Their investment is negligible and their profits astronomical.

Inevitably, they get some orders; later, after other mailings, they get reorders. These latter children, girls as well as boys, become their special victims. Follow this chain of events—it could happen to your boy or girl.

After several reorders, a youthful customer is likely to receive a phone call from a woman who says she represents the X company, that she is looking for a local sales agent, she has heard that he is a livewire, and she has some new merchandise to show him. Can they talk?

So the boy who answered an innocent ad for a baseball bat, after 18 months or so, may become a smalltime filth merchant on his own, with subagents working for him, all spreading vile literature and art through the community.

The worst exhibits we have ever confiscated, as a matter of fact, came from the storeroom of a 14-year-old high school student.

But the story is not finished. Pornography often leads to worse things. Drug pushers have discovered that kids who read for "kicks" are good prospects for another thrill. Somehow, the pusher learns the names of a half-dozen youthful filth peddlers, makes their acquaintance in a drug store, invites them up to his room for a drink and introduces them to marijuana. Then, offering an even bigger "kick," he persuades them to try a shot of heroin.

In the investigation of armed robbery, extortion, embezzlement, and forgery, authorities continually find that those guilty of such crimes were early collectors of obscene pictures and films.

Sex criminals and sex murderers almost always prove to have a long record of addiction to pornographic and sadistic material. Here again, the blight of such material goes beyond its original mark. Children who have never been exposed to it can nevertheless be victims of sex criminals who have been exposed.

No child is immune. Obscene material is sent to girls as well as boys. It has been sent to orphanages and summer camps. It is addressed to children as young as 8 years.

And it is obvious that many children, without parental attention, fall into the trap of ordering the filth for sale, for smut merchants regard traffic with children as a major part of their highly lucrative business.

This monstrous assault can be stopped. I am determined that the Post Office Department will do everything possible to stop it. This determination is shared by our postmasters around the country and by my associates in the Department.

But we recognize that the final answer lies in adequate public support. The time for action is now.

As far back as 1865 Congress made it a Federal offense to mail obscene matter. Nevertheless, commercialized pornography has continued to grow.

It has expanded tremendously since World War II.

It has doubled in the past 5 years alone. There appear to be two basic reasons for this rapidly growing volume:

First, the huge profits realized from a relatively small capital investment; and second, the broad definition of obscenity handed down by certain courts, notably in Los Angeles and New York, where the great bulk of the mail-order business in obscenity and pornography originates.

Over a period of time, these liberal rulings have established virtual sanctuaries in which dealers in obscenity operate with impunity and in defiance of the Post Office Department's efforts to bar their use of the mails or bring them to justice.

Until last year, controlling decisions of the courts held that prosecutions could be carried out only in the districts where materials were put into the mails—which, of course, were the most liberal districts. For years, we in the Post Office urged legislation that would allow prosecution not only at the point of mailing but in the communities where the filth is received—where the actual damage is done—and where citizens should have the opportunity to express their standards of morality and decency.

Such legislation finally was passed by the 85th Congress and signed into law by President Eisenhower last year. We are convinced that it provides an effective weapon for dealing with this problem. The first case following its passage was in Boise, Idaho, and related to mailings of obscene material from California and Oregon. The offenders, a man and his wife, each received a 10-year prison sentence and a fine. Other cases are now pending in the courts.

It is in our efforts to make full use of this new legal weapon that the Post Office most needs the cooperation of parents and decent-minded citizens everywhere.

The privacy of the mail is one of our basic American rights. The Post Office Department cannot, and will not, violate this right, even when it has strong evidence that the mail is being used for unlawful purposes.

Therefore, the Post Office can legally identify and take action against violators of the mails only on complaint of citizens who receive such material. We can act only after the recipient of obscene mail has opened it and placed it in the hands of the local postmaster as evidence. This will not involve the addressee in public embarrassment or testimony in court. The law is clear, as is our duty, but we must have evidence of this illicit material being received through the U.S. mail.

Unfortunately, smut merchants make profits which enable them to retain high-priced lawyers adept at hamstringing, delaying, and confusing court action until their clients go free or receive only small prison terms or fines. By getting off lightly, the peddlers can move back into their racket under a new name, in short order.

They are also experts at sounding wounded cries about "censorship," "freedom of the press," and civil liberties." And all too often they are able to find well-meaning persons to take up their cry and carry on their insidious battle.

Don't be deceived. This is cynical nonsense. Preventing the peddling of pornographic poison to children is no more a violation of civil liberties than is preventing the sale of liquor or dope to children.

The community which does not fully punish those guilty of any of these crimes is tragically failing its duty.

Accompanying this article you will find the steps you can take to help your community clean up this mess. Act promptly. Act vigorously.

I pledge that the Post Office Department will lead the way. And I am confident that when the American people are fully aware of the vicious extent of the challenge, they will fight this battle through to certain victory.

THIS IS WHAT YOU CAN DO

1. If obscene material arrives in your mailbox, save all material received, including the envelope and enclosures.

2. Report the matter immediately to the local postmaster and turn the material over to him, either in person or by mail.

3. Actively support Members of Congress and community officials in their efforts to help bring this racket to an end.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, as one of the sponsors of the Captive Nations Week resolution, I have noted with some dismay the manner in which various sources have attacked Congress and the President for their parts in its promulgation. I think this criticism is both shortsighted and ill advised.

I am proud of my sponsorship of this measure, and proud of my work in the Senate Judiciary Committee which helped speed its passage. My sentiments are grounded on my basic belief that we cannot do too much to call to the attention of the world the plight of the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain. We cannot too often remind these noble people that they are not forgotten and that we are working and praying for their day of liberation.

The fact that Captive Nations Week was proclaimed at the same time Vice President Nixon was touring Russia has been attacked by some people. They indicate the Vice President was embarrassed by the incident. If that is so, he certainly has handled the whole situation with his usual aplomb.

Of course, Premier Khrushchev's heavy-handed criticisms of the week have merely served to further call the attention of the world to the plight of the oppressed people behind the Iron Curtain. While it is true that we should not taunt the Russian bear unnecessarily, the task of keeping alive the spirit of freedom among the captive peoples is important and necessary. If the result is to irritate the Soviets, then that merely demonstrates anew that often the truth hurts.

The storm of protest emanating from the Kremlin illustrates conclusively that the enslaved nations represent the Achilles heel of the Soviet empire. They cannot stand criticism or the hot spotlight of public scrutiny on this point.

Thus, if the result of the passage of the Captive Nations Week resolution has been to rile up the Communists, so be it. They have it coming to them as a result of their ruthless and bloody rule of their satellites and because of the oppressive manner in which all forms of free expression have been beaten down.

One wonders what the critics of Captive Nations Week would have us do. Should we turn our back on the enslaved peoples, and thus abdicate our traditional role as the champion of the world's oppressed? I should hope we have not come to that point.

I, for one, will never be a party to any tactics which smack of appeasement in an effort to avoid offending the Communist leaders. Of course, we should not stir troubled waters unnecessarily. But when our cause is just—as in the case of Captive Nations Week—we must not hold back.

Mr. President, this new controversial resolution, in effect, merely represented a concrete expression of the view of all Americans that there will never be full peace until every nation everywhere can

control its own destinies. It was directed to what may well be considered the dominant issue of our times—the right of men to choose their own form of government and to shape their own destinies. Premier Khrushchev and his fellow international gangsters have repeatedly asserted that the people of the satellite states favor the Communist rule which has been thrust upon them. If they really believe this, of course, it can readily be put to the test by a series of free elections behind the Iron Curtain.

All of us realize that will not happen, because the Communists know full well that if these people are allowed to express their own free will, they will choose to throw their lot with the forces of freedom and democracy. The Communists cannot afford to put into the hands of the people the right to change their form of government, for they know that Communist tyranny would be the first to go.

Mr. President, so long as there are captive nations and so long as Communist terrorism continues, there can be no true peace. We of the free world, and especially we in America, must continue to express our concern about the plight of the captive peoples, must continue to assure them of our mutuality of interest in their aspirations to be free. The forthright pledge of support for the enslaved peoples, as contained in the Captive Nations Week resolution, must be pounded home again and again. It cannot be repeated too often. It is nothing to be ashamed or timid about. Indeed, it must be shouted from the rooftops.

I think we ought to give serious consideration to the suggestion that this protest over Soviet tactics should be made permanent, by means of a Captive Nations Year. Perhaps in that way we can demonstrate most forcefully of all America's continued dedication to the goal of the freeing of the noble nations now trapped behind the Iron Curtain and their restoration to their rightful place in the family of free nations.

Mr. President, a number of fine articles and editorials appearing in various newspapers have recognized the importance and propriety of the action of Congress in passing the Captive Nations Week resolution. I ask unanimous consent to have them printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune, July 28, 1959]

LIST OF PRECEDENTS CITED ON CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON, July 27.—Maybe there ought to be a "Captive Nations Year" instead of a "Captive Nations Week." Then the protest will be continuous instead of once a year.

Evidently those fainthearted in our midst who think it was a bad idea for the Congress of the United States to proclaim American ideals to the peoples of the world and utter words of sympathy to the oppressed don't know that similar protests have been perennial in American history. Or else they are so afraid of offending Khrushchev that they are willing to appease him still more by criticizing what Congress did.

A glance at the record will show that the Democratic and Republican Parties have for more than 70 years inserted from time to

time planks in their national platforms expressing the sympathy of the American people for oppressed peoples abroad. It has become so natural for this to be done by both parties that the Congress earlier this month spent only a few minutes debating the joint resolution which subsequently aroused the ire of the Communist imperialists in Moscow. In 1892, both the Republican and Democratic Party platforms condemned the Russian Government for the mistreatment of its people. The Democratic platform plank, entitled "Sympathy for the Oppressed," read as follows:

"This country has always been the refuge of the oppressed from every land—exiles for conscience' sake and, in the spirit of the founders of our Government, we condemn the oppression practiced by the Russian Government upon its Lutheran and Jewish subjects, and we call upon our National Government, in the interest of justice and humanity, by all just and proper means, to use its prompt and best efforts to bring about a cessation of these cruel persecutions in the dominions of the Czar, and to secure to the oppressed equal rights."

"We tender our profound and earnest sympathy to those lovers of freedom who are struggling for home rule and the great cause of local self-government in Ireland."

REPUBLICAN WORDING

The Republican national platform in the same year, under the title "Championing the Oppressed," had this plank:

"The Republican Party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color, or nationality. It sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of Jews in Russia."

In 1896, the Republican platform had a plank saying: "The Armenian massacres (by the Turks) have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end."

Then, in 1900, the Democratic platform had a plank expressing sympathy with the efforts of the Boers of South Africa to gain "liberty and independence" from British rule.

In 1920, the Democratic national platform contained a plank "expressing its active sympathy with the people of China, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Yugoslavia, Poland, Persia, and others who have recently established representative government." Another plank expressed sympathy with the efforts of the Irish people to get their freedom, and still another plank called on the American government to "render every possible and proper aid to the unfortunate people of Armenia."

A CALL FOR JEWISH STATE

The year 1944 saw the first plank from the Republicans calling for a "free and democratic commonwealth" in Palestine. Then, in 1948, the Democrats had a plank, too, "looking forward to the admission of the State of Israel to the United Nations." The Republicans in their platform that year also had a plank proclaiming friendship with the people of Palestine.

The 1956 Republican platform said:

"We shall continue to seek the reunification of Germany in freedom, and the liberation of the satellite states—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and other once-free countries now behind the Iron Curtain. The Republican party stands firmly with the peoples of these countries in their just quest for freedom. We are confident that our peaceful policies, resolutely pursued, will finally restore freedom and national independence to oppressed peoples and nations."

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIX PLANK

The 1956 Democratic plank said in part: "We declare our deepest concern for the plight of the freedom-loving peoples of central and eastern Europe and of Asia, now under the yoke of Soviet dictatorship. The United States, under democratic leaders, has never recognized the forcible annexation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, or condoned the extension of the Kremlin's tyranny over Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Albania, and other countries. We look forward to the day when the liberties of all captive nations will be restored to them and they can again take their rightful place in the community of free nations."

It's an old story with America, but somehow Nikita Khrushchev hasn't heard of it.

[From the New York Times, July 28, 1959]

MR. KHRUSHCHEV'S CAPTIVES

Premier Khrushchev has gone to great pains to make clear his displeasure at our country's observance of Captive Nations Week. His annoyance is understandable. It has long been a prime goal of his foreign policy, as it was of Stalin's, to force the West to accept the legitimacy and permanence of the Communist territorial conquests which have so radically changed the world in the last two decades. Our continued observance of Captive Nations Week testifies to the failure of this effort.

Let us recall some of the facts which Mr. Khrushchev tries to suggest he has forgotten:

Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were independent nations two decades ago until the Red Army occupied them and carried out farcical elections which resulted in their incorporation into the Soviet Union. The East German revolt of June 1953, and the Hungarian Revolution of October-November 1956, are recent enough so that Mr. Khrushchev should remember that it required Soviet tanks and bayonets in the streets of East Berlin and Budapest to keep those peoples captive. And the Premier knows even better than we how close he and his colleagues came to ordering their armed forces to attack Poland in October 1956, when the Soviet hierarchs rushed to Warsaw, fearful that Poland was slipping out of their grasp. Throughout Eastern Europe Communist totalitarianism was imposed upon cowed peoples either directly by the Soviet armed forces, as in Rumania, or by a minority which took power—as in Czechoslovakia in February 1948—over a majority cowed by the fear of invasion by Soviet troops standing at the border.

Since he really knows all this, Premier Khrushchev has sought to twist the issue by the clumsy trick with which he has baited Vice President Nixon, the trick of pointing to Soviet citizens and asking if they are slaves. Since Mr. Nixon is prevented by realization of his responsibilities as a guest and as an official visitor from responding adequately to this maneuver, Premier Khrushchev has been able to score a cheap propaganda point.

Even the Communists themselves have sometimes admitted that the Soviet people are not free. Here, for example, is the way Pravda put the matter as recently as July 6, 1956: "As concerns our country, the Communist Party was, is, and will be the only sovereign of the thoughts, spokesman of the ideas and aspirations, director and organizer of the people during the entire duration of its struggle for communism."

Are people free when they must endure, in Pravda's expressive word, a "sovereign" over their thoughts? If the Soviet people were free they would be able to think as they wish, to read what they like, to tune in to any radio broadcast they wished to hear, to choose their own rulers, and to travel abroad, without permission, as they

please. They have none of these rights of freemen. If Premier Khrushchev is so desirous of convincing us that his people are free, why does he not take the obvious steps? Why does he not lift the Iron Curtain? Why does he not permit the free movement of people and ideas into and out of his country? Why does he not stop jamming our broadcasts? Why does he not submit himself to the ordeal of a free election in which there is an organized opposition with freedom to urge alternative policies? Why does he not permit the American exhibition in Moscow to enjoy the same freedom in displaying our books as the Soviet exhibition has in displaying Soviet books in New York? Why does he not permit Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago" to be freely available to the Soviet people?

There are many kinds of slavery. But of all these kinds, enslavement of the minds of a great people is the most terrible. And that is the slavery of the Soviet people.

[From the New York Daily News, July 28, 1959]

NIXON TO POLAND—VEEP TO VISIT A CAPTIVE NATION

Another thing we like about Vice President Nixon's televised set-to with Khrushchev last Friday at the U.S. Moscow fair is that it shocked a bunch of British diplomats and newspapers. They considered it disgraceful.

Mr. Nixon, we feel, couldn't have hoped for a better testimonial to his courage and his ability to trade propaganda punch for punch with the clownish Khrushchev.

The next point of top interest on the Nixon trip promises to be his 2-day visit in Poland next week. Poland is one of the countries included in the Eisenhower-Congress proclamation of Captive Nations Week—which hit Khrushchev where he lives, as witness his and his kept press' repeated screams about it.

We hope Nixon has observed this anguish, and will make all the capital he can out of it when he visits Poland.

It will be most interesting, too, to see whether Nixon gets a warm reception from the Polish crowds, in contrast to the chill of mass hatred which afflicted Khrushchev on his recent tour of his Polish slave-province. Anybody want to bet?

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald, July 29, 1959]

MR. K.'S WORDS—AT VARIANCE WITH REALITIES
(By Roscoe Drummond)

The evidence is strongly on the side that the American exhibit in Moscow plus Vice President Nixon's crowd-greeting friendliness plus his "kitchen" debate with Premier Khrushchev plus Mr. K.'s annoyance at the "captive nations" proclamation—that all these developments are exerting a considerable impact on the Soviet people.

Despite the continued Soviet attacks on the U.S. exhibition as misleading, unrepresentative, and hardly worthy of notice—or perhaps because of them—as many as 65,000 Russian citizens are enthusiastically swarming through the exposition in a single day.

Some American commentators have suggested that the "captive nations" resolution was badly timed, that it gave Mr. Khrushchev the opportunity to impose a sour atmosphere upon the Nixon visit, that it ought to have at least been delayed.

I think the opposite is true, that it was well, though perhaps accidentally, timed. Right after a trip to "captive" Poland, which didn't go very well, right after having to call off a month's visit to Scandinavia because the Scandinavian press made it clear that it didn't relish Mr. K.'s brand of freedom, the resolution apparently touched the Soviet Premier at such a sore point that he had to keep talking about it. The more he talked about it, the more attention he called

to the plight of the nations which have been put under Soviet rule by force. Mr. Khrushchev did quite a job publicizing the resolution.

It seems to me that the most telltale aspect of the public Nixon-Khrushchev debate in the kitchen of the typical American house is the tremendous gap between Mr. K.'s words and the realities behind them—realities grimly familiar to the Soviet people as well as to the satellite peoples. For example, this exchange:

NIXON—"You must not be afraid of ideas."
KHRUSHCHEV—"We tell you not to be afraid of ideas. We have no reason to be afraid. We have already broken free of such a situation."

Is this true? Are the Soviet leaders no longer afraid to let the Soviet people have free access to ideas? Have they "broken free of such a situation?"

Well, while this conversation was taking place, Soviet censors were demanding that more than 100 books be removed from the American library at the exposition. Among them were: "Anthology of Old Russian Literature," "Journey to Poland" by Harvard's John K. Galbraith, "A Treasury of Great Russian Short Stories," Barbara Ward's "Faith and Freedom," "Great Ages and Ideas of the Jewish People," "Tides of Crisis" by A. A. Berle Jr., and other ideas of which the Soviets were apparently afraid.

At another point Mr. Khrushchev told Mr. Nixon that he wouldn't be able to find a single "captive" in the whole Communist world.

No? Consult the U.N. reports on Soviet slave labor. Consult the Hungarian "freedom fighters" some 200,000 of whom fled from Soviet tanks. Consult the 2 million North Koreans who fled to South Korea or the 1 million Vietnamese who fled from the Communist North to the noncommunist South. Consult the 3 million Germans who have fled from East Germany to West Germany. Were these millions fleeing from freedom—or from political captivity?

In his one American television interview, over CBS, Mr. Khrushchev said all he wanted was "to let the people choose" whether or not they prefer Communist rule.

At the U.S. exposition he rushed past a battery of voting machines, remarking that he was "not interested in them."

Why not—if he really believes in "letting the people choose" their form of government? He doesn't. Nowhere in the Communist world have the people ever been allowed to choose between a Communist and a noncommunist government. I suggest that even if the Communists absolutely knew they would win a free election—that is, with more than one party being voted for—they would never dare permit it. Reason: If you concede the right of a people to choose a government, you concede their right to change a government—and that the Communists never accept.

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON'S ACTIVITIES IN THE SOVIET UNION

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the impact of Vice President Nixon's tour is being felt not only in the United States and the Soviet Union, but throughout the world where the cold war battle for men's minds continues without letup. By standing up to Premier Khrushchev in their face-to-face debates, and by carrying the message of peace and good will from the American people direct to the Russian people, Mr. Nixon has served well the cause of world peace.

The Vice President's coolness in the face of extreme provocations and his eloquent presentation of America's posi-

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tion deserve the hearty applause and commendation of all of us. He has brought home to the people of Russia our dedication to the ending of wars and the building of a lasting peace based on justice and mutual understanding.

An excellent editorial concerning the Vice President's trip recently appeared in the Rochester (N.Y.) Times-Union. It summarizes well the sentiments so many of us feel—that Mr. Nixon's exemplary behavior thus far on his travels has contributed substantially to the cause of world peace. I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NIXON KEEPS HEAD IN BRAWL, HIS POINT VITAL TO PEACE

Evidently Premier Khrushchev went to the American exposition in Moscow looking for an argument, and he got it. Vice President Nixon refused either to be pushed around, talked down, or to fawn on his host.

MASTERLY SPEECH

It was a situation he would not have chosen for himself. It was, in fact, an abrupt change in atmosphere from the Vice President's formal speech opening the exposition. This speech was a masterpiece. It went beyond the usual pleasantries of such occasions and made a serious, thoughtful presentation of American attitudes, hopes, and convictions. It glossed over none of our failures but met them head-on, thereby adding conviction to what he said. He spoke for all America.

But Khrushchev got off a plane from Poland spilling for an argument and he found it in the kitchen at the exhibit.

In such catch-as-catch-can wrangles it is always hard to keep on the subject and not follow some provocative remark down a blind alley. But Mr. Nixon managed to do so.

And his main point was one that everyone in the world knows is true, except, perhaps, Khrushchev. It was of such overshadowing importance and of such immediate application that it alone was worth an elaborate mission to Moscow.

Mr. Nixon had touched on the point in his formal address. He said the fact that either nation had a bigger bomb, a faster plane, or a more powerful rocket no longer adds up to an advantage. This is because we have reached the point where the Biblical injunction "they that take the sword shall perish with the sword" is the grimmest fact we confront.

Therefore, he said, neither must ever put the other in a position where he has no choice but to fight or surrender. No nation is strong enough to issue an ultimatum to another without running the risk of self-destruction.

MEANS GENEVA

Despite the atmosphere of a waterfront brawl, Mr. Nixon pressed his point home on Khrushchev again and again. He exhorted him to understand all the implications of the necessity to avoid putting himself or us into a position where there is no line of retreat from catastrophe.

The implications are as close at hand as Geneva. There the whole question is the Soviet Union's insistence that it will have its way in Berlin, or else. Mr. Nixon said, concerning Geneva, "It takes two to make an agreement. You cannot have it all your own way." And he pressed him again not to allow the conference to fail.

It was tremendously worth saying, even if it had to be said in a wrangle. Mr. Nixon kept his head and got it said.

THE COMMUNISTS' PROPAGANDA BOO-BOO

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, news reports emanating from Vienna indicate that the carefully planned Communist propaganda circus, otherwise known as the World Youth Festival, has turned into an embarrassing comedy of errors for the Reds. In spite of extensive preparations to make this a showcase for the virtues of communism, the Festival has turned into a series of angry squabbles marked by oppressive tactics typical of the Soviets.

The latest reports indicate that the sponsors of the fiasco feel the splits and feuds among delegates are getting out of hand, and that as a result the anti-Communists are stealing the propaganda spotlight from them. This is partially a result of the fact this is the first Festival which has been held outside the Iron Curtain, and perhaps also results from the makeup and alertness of some of the delegates.

There recently came to my attention a study of the World Festival of Youth and Students prepared by the Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R. This organization is composed of scholars who have left the Soviet Union. They have banded together to make available to the free world analyses of contemporary events and detailed studies of various aspects of the Soviet system by persons who know it intimately.

The report of the Institute on the Youth Festival is particularly timely in the light of the trials and tribulations which have been going on in Vienna. As the report outlines, the Festival was organized with the utmost care by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, a front organization controlled from Moscow.

Official preparations have been made by a commission located in Vienna. This commission has been publishing a special newspaper and its activities have been supplemented by National Festival Committees organized in various countries with the assistance of various Communist and leftist organizations.

As this report makes clear, the primary objective of the Festival is to control the minds of the young delegates so that they will be thoroughly indoctrinated in the Soviet line. It is a pure and simple propaganda sounding board for the Kremlin.

It is well, therefore, that stubborn opposition to the Communists has sprung up at the Festival. The fact that disputes outnumber love feasts indicates the master plan of the Soviets has been unmasked.

In order that more people may have a fuller understanding of the background of the Festival, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the report prepared by the Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R., and distributed in this country by that fine organization, the American Committee for Liberation. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE VIENNA WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL: AN INSTRUMENT OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

Carefully prepared and lavishly financed, the Seventh World Festival of Youth and Students is the first in the series of such festivals to be held outside the Communist world. Its aim is to manipulate the youth of non-Communist countries in the interest of Soviet foreign policy. Particular emphasis will be placed upon influencing the youth of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

According to the latest reports the Seventh World Youth Festival will be attended by delegates from 130 countries (Komsomolskaya Pravda, June 21, 1959).¹ It will also be "the largest and most universal international youth assembly ever to be held" (Molodezh Mira, Youth of the World, 1959, No. 3). The Central Committee of the CPSU, as the real moving force behind this festival and its organization, hopes that it will mark a new step forward in the worldwide Communist advance. The Soviet regime hopes to facilitate its future actions on the international scene by gaining full or partial support for its foreign policy from the youth of the non-Communist world.

The official preparations for the festival have been made by a permanent preparatory commission located in Vienna. The commission has been publishing a special newspaper named Festival in connection with its work and its activities have been supplemented by "National Festival Committees" organized in many countries with the assistance of various Communist and "progressive" organizations. As early as December 1958 such national committees had been organized in 60 different countries (Festival, December 1958). By June 1959 active preparations for the festival were reported to be underway in more than 90 countries. According to official Soviet information (Molodoloi Kommunist, Young Communist, 1959, No. 6), more than 1,200 youth, student, cultural, sports and trade union organizations of various political and religious tendencies were involved in these preparations.

Direct person-to-person contact has been one method of propagating the idea of the festival among non-Communist youth. Young people from Communist countries have been flooding their pen-pals in lands outside the Communist world with letters extolling the festival.

Preparatory to the Vienna Festival, national youth festivals have already been held in many non-Communist countries, particularly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, as well as in all the Communist nations. These festivals have elected delegates to the Vienna Festival, and selected the athletic teams and music and dramatic ensembles who will represent their respective lands in the various festival programs.

The festival will be attended by about 17,000 persons in an official capacity, but large numbers of observers and curious spectators are also expected to be present. Some statistics on the anticipated number and composition of the different delegations are already available.

"Eight hundred leading representatives of Soviet youth—young factory and collective farm workers, students, future scientists, young writers and composers, artists, and

¹The first of this series of youth festivals was held in Prague in 1947. It was attended by representatives of the youth of 71 countries. Delegates from 81 nations attended the second festival held in Budapest in 1949. The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth festivals were held in East Berlin, Bucharest, Warsaw, and Moscow, respectively. They took place in 1951, 1953, 1955, and 1957 and were all attended by delegates coming from more than 100 different countries.